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# STRANGE STORY OF A SENATE COMMITTEE

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A maverick chairman—at odds with LBJ—holds the gavel of the once-powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Who is Senator Fulbright? What is he trying to accomplish by persistent and outspoken criticism? This is the story.



—USN&WR Photo

Senator Fulbright, known as a "loner" in Congress, seeks to alter course of U. S. foreign policy around the world.

Historically, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been one of the most respected and influential bodies in Congress.

Traditionally, in a time of trouble, the Committee chairman has worked with the President and Secretary of State on vital problems of war and peace.

The late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, a Republican, assisted President Truman, a Democrat, on such postwar pillars of U. S. foreign policy as the United Nations, Atlantic Alliance, Marshall Plan for foreign aid, and Truman Doctrine to contain Communism.

The late Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia, a Democrat, helped President Eisenhower, a Republican, on the Formosa Resolution when the Chinese Communists threatened an attack in 1955, and in the 1956 Suez Canal crisis.

Things are different now. The era of co-operation, apparently, is over. What emerges now is not a lessening of bipartisan support for the President, but a schism among Democrats over Administration policy.

A foreign-policy expert who has served both in the State Department and on Capitol Hill observed:

"It is safe to say there has never been a time of war in American history when the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee was in such fundamental disagreement with a President of his own political party."

The current chairman—Senator James William Fulbright, of Arkansas—has been a persistent and outspoken critic of the Administration's handling of foreign affairs almost from the day that Lyndon B. Johnson became President in 1963.

Senator Fulbright, who is soon to be 61, has made a series of speeches assailing the conduct of the war in Southeast Asia, condemning U. S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, challenging efforts to isolate Castro in Cuba by means of political and economic boycott.

The chairman advocates "accommodation" of the big Communist powers—Soviet Russia and Red China. He favors "building bridges" to the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe.

A *loner's fief*? Senators Vandenberg and George worked within the Committee to iron out differences, seek

areas of agreement, and assist the executive branch in the development of basic foreign policy.

Under Senator Fulbright, however, the Foreign Relations Committee has become—according to some—a personal fief and an academic debating society, with the members split three or four different ways.

A Committee colleague said:

"Bill is an educator rather than an administrator. He was a college president—still is. He is not very effective as an administrator."

A veteran foreign-affairs specialist commented:

"If Fulbright had the leadership qualities that Vandenberg had, he would be a magnificent chairman. He has more knowledge of foreign affairs than many. But Fulbright has always been a loner in the Senate. He has never been a part of the internal workings, the inside team."

**A look at Mr. Fulbright.** Who is Senator Fulbright, and what is he up to?

The chairman cheerfully admits that he is trying to "influence American foreign policy," which he claims is formed by "a handful of individuals in the executive branch," by calling his views to public attention.

Yet his votes on Capitol Hill show that Mr. Fulbright does not speak for even a fourth of the 19 members of his Committee—where there is a 13-man Democratic majority. His following in the entire Congress is judged to be somewhat less.

The Senator comes from a wealthy family at Fayetteville, Ark., where he served for two years as president of the University of Arkansas—1939 to 1941.

A Rhodes scholar, he attended Oxford University in England for three years. He holds four academic degrees, from Oxford, the University of Arkansas, and George Washington University law school.

He has served in Congress 24 years—two years in the House, 22 years in the Senate. Before his present chairmanship, he headed the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

When he took over the gavel of the Foreign Relations group in 1959, "The Washington Evening Star" said in an article:

"The new chairman is a much-traveled Arkansan who is a 'liberal' abroad, (continued on next news page)

and rather more conservative at home. On domestic issues, he is generally to be found in the ranks of Southerners.

"He is both brilliant and amiable. Among his colleagues, his intellectual attainments are respected or resented, according to the beholder. Some have complained that he is aloof, others that he is lazy."

A 36 per cent "liberal." The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education reported Senator Fulbright voted for measures favored by unions only 36 per cent of the time during the 88th Congress, 1963-64.

The leading "liberal" organization, Americans for Democratic Action, credited him with a 36 per cent "liberal" record.

The Arkansan voted against the 1957, 1960, and 1964 Civil Rights Acts. He signed the 1956 "Southern Manifesto" protesting the Supreme Court's school-desegregation decision.

That action may have cost him the appointment as Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration. His name was high on a list being considered until Negro civil-rights leaders objected to his appointment.

Senator Fulbright claims, however, that he never aspired to be Secretary of State, under either Kennedy or Johnson. "I'm not equipped by disposition or temperament for the job," he said in an interview.

A veteran feudist. Feuding with Presidents is nothing new to Senator Fulbright. At various times he has been critical of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Johnson.

Mr. Fulbright was somewhat more compatible with President Kennedy.

But his real idol was the late Adlai Stevenson, Ambassador to the United Nations. Mr. Fulbright vigorously supported Stevenson for President in 1952 and 1956.

After the 1946 election, when Republicans gained control of Congress, Senator Fulbright called on President Truman to resign and turn the White House over to a Republican. He predicted no Democrat could be elected President in 1948.

Retorted Harry S. Truman: "That overeducated Oxford s.o.b.! He's the best argument there is for the land-grant colleges."

In his first Senate speech in 1945, Senator Fulbright described fear of Communism as a "powerful prejudice." He said: "The Russian experiment in socialism is scarcely more radical under modern conditions than the Declaration

of Independence was in the days of King George III."

The Arkansan was among the first to condemn the Communist investigations of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. Senator Fulbright called the McCarthy censure resolution the Senate's "greatest accomplishment" in 1954.

At the outset of the Kennedy Administration in 1961, he persuaded the President and Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara to cancel a military-indoc-

armed forces and pinpoint bombing of Castro's island, to insure removal of Soviet missiles.

The Senator has been critical of military men and overseas operations of the Central Intelligence Agency. He charged in 1964 that "the American people are not exercising effective control over the military, and neither is Congress."

Senator Fulbright has opposed both the bombing of Communist North Viet-



To Bill  
I can see I haven't been very persuasive  
Lyndon B. Johnson

A presidential postscript. This photograph showing Senator Fulbright listening to President Johnson has a hand-written inscription which says: "To Bill - I can see I haven't been very persuasive - Lyndon B. Johnson."

trination program for troops and reservists in the tactics and techniques of Communism.

In a speech at the University of North Carolina in 1964, Senator Fulbright claimed the cold war had caused in Americans "a morbid preoccupation with the dangers of Communist aggression abroad and subversion and disloyalty at home."

**Stand on Castro.** The Senator has been variously a "dove" and a "hawk" on Communist Cuba.

In 1961 he was one of a few who advised President Kennedy against the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion by U.S.-trained Cuban refugees.

The next year, however, during the 1962 missile crisis, Mr. Fulbright openly called for invasion of Cuba by American

nam and the build-up of U.S. military forces to suppress the guerrilla warfare in the South.

The Senator has urged "negotiations" to end the war involving "major concessions" on both sides. He favors "neutralization" of all of Southeast Asia. Recently, he said the U.S. should stop blocking admission of Red China into the United Nations.

What is the reaction to all this?

Reports from his home State of Arkansas indicate that not many people agree with Mr. Fulbright's views, but most support his right to speak out on the issues.

In Washington, however, there is growing concern over the purpose and influence of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.